



Redde in this Image him, whose dearest blood
Is thought noe price to buy his Countreyes good;
Whose name shall flourish, till the blast of ffame
Shall want a Trumpet; or true Worth, a name.
Edw: Bower pinxit G: Glover fecit

ON
THE
SPEECH
OF
DECLARATION

OF
JOHN PYMM, Esquire,

To the LORDS of the upper House,
upon the delivery of the Articles of the Com-
mons assembled in Parliament,

AGAINST
WILLIAM LAVD,
Archbishop of Canterbury, in maintenance of
their Accusation, whereby he stands charged
of High Treason.

TOGETHER
With a true Copy of the said ARTICLES.



S. G.

London, printed for Ralph Mabb, 1641.

THE
SPEECH
OR
DECLARATION

OF
JOHN PAINE

To the Lords of the upper House
upon the delivery of the Articles of the Crown
to the said John Paine

AND
WILLIAM LADD,
Archbishop of Canterbury, in manner of
their Articles whereby he stands charged
of High Treason.

TOGETHER
With a Copy of the Articles.



London: Printed for R. Baldwin, 1703.

A TRUE COPY

OF THE

Articles of the Commons assembled

in Parliament, against

WILLIAM LAUD

Archbishop of **CANTERBURY**,

in maintenance of their Acculation,

whereby he stands charged with

HIGH TREASON.

TOGETHER

With a true Copy of the Speech

or Declaration of **JOHN PYMM**

Esquire, upon the same.

My Lords,

I Am commanded by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses now assembled for the Commons in Parliament, to deliver to your Lordships these Articles, in maintenance of their Charge against the Archbishop of Canterbury. Their desire is, that first your Lordships would be pleased to hear the Articles read, and then I shall endeavour to present to you the sense of the Commons concerning the nature of the Charge, and the order of their proceedings.

Articles of the *Commons* assembled
in Parliament, in maintenance of their

Accusation against

WILLIAM LAUD,

Archbishop of Canterbury :

Whereby he stands charged with high treason.

That he hath traitorously en-
deavoured to subvert the fun-
damentall Lawes and Go-
vernment of this Kingdome
of England, and instead thereof to intro-
duce an Arbitrary and tyrannicall Go-
vernment against Law; and to that end,
hath wickedly and traitorously advised
his Majesty, that hee might at his owne
will, and pleasure, leaue, and take mony
of his Subjects, without their consent in
Parliament; and this hee affirmed was
warrantable by the Law of God.

II. He

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II.
Hee hath for the better accomplishment of that his traitorous designe, advised, and procured sermons, and other discourses to be preached, printed, and published, in which the authority of Parliaments, and the force of the Lawes of this Kingdome, have bin denied; and, absolute and unlimited Power over the persons and estates of his Majesties subjects maintained, and defended, not onely in the King, but himselfe, and other Bishops, against the Law: And hee hath beene a great protector, fayer, and promoter of the publishers of such false and pernicious opinions.

III.
He hath by Letters, Messages, Threats and Promises, and by divers other wayes to Iudges, and other Ministers of Justice, interrupted and perverted, and at other times by meanes aforesaid, hath indeavoured to interrupt, & pervert the course

of Iustice in his Majesties Courts at Westminster, and other Courts, to the subversion of the Lawes of this Kingdome, whereby sundry of his Majesties subjects have beene kept in their just suits, deprived of their lawfull rights; and subjected to his tyrannicall will, to their ruine and destruction.

V I.

That the said Archbishop hath traitorously and corruptly sold Iustice to those who have had causes depending before him, by colour of his Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction, as Archbishop, High Commissioner, Referee, or otherwise, and hath taken unlawfull gifts and bribes of his Majesties subjects, and hath (as much as in him lyes) endeavoured to corrupt the other Courts of Iustice, by advising and procuring his Majesty to sell places of Iudicature, and other offices, contrary to the Lawes and Statutes in that behalfe.

V. He

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V.

He hath traiterously caused a Booke of Canons to bee compoled, and published without any lawfull warrant and authority in that behalfe; in which pretended Canons many matters are contained contrary to the Kings Prerogative, to the fundamentall Lawes and Statutes of this Realme, to the right of Parliament, to the propriety, and liberty of the subject, and matters tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence, and to the establishment of a vast, unlawfull, and presumptuous power in himselfe, and his successors; many of which Canons, by the practice of the said Archbishop, were surreptitiously passed in the late Convocation, without due consideration and debate; others by feare and compulsion, were subscribed by the Prelates and Clerkes there assembled, which had never beene voted and passed in the Convocation, as they ought to have beene.

And

And the said Archbishop hath contrived and endeavored to assure & confirme the unlawfull and exorbitant power, which he hath usurped & exercised over his Majesties Subjects, by a wicked and ungodly oath in one of the said pretended Canons, injoynd to be taken by all the Clergy, and many of the Laity of this Kingdome.

VI.

He hath traiterously assumed to himself a Papall & tyrannicall power, both in Ecclesiastical & temporal matters, over his Majesties Subjects in this Realme of England, & in other places, to the dishonour of the Crowne, dishonour of his Majesty, & derogation of his supreme authority in ecclesiastical matters; & the said Archbishop claimes the Kings Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction as incident to his Episcopall and Archiepiscopall office in this kingdome, and doth deny the same to be derived from the Crowne of England, which he hath accordingly exercised, to the high contempt of

of his royall Majesty, And to the destru-
tion of diuers of the Kings liege people,
in their persons and estates, and to the
great Murther of the Law, and to the
honour That he hath traytelously endeavoured
to alter and subvert Gods true Religion
only Law established in this Realm, and
in stead thereof to set up popish supersti-
tion and Idolatry. And to that end hath
declared and maintained in Speeches and
printed Bookes, diuers popish doctrines
and opinions contrary to the Articles of
Religion established by Law. He hath urged
and incited diuers popish and super-
stitious ceremonies, without any war-
rant of Law, and hath cruelly persecuted
those who have opposed the same, by
corporal punishments, & imprisonment,
and most unjustly vexed others, who re-
fused to conforme thereunto by Ecclesia-
sticall censures of Excommunication, Su-
spension, Deprivation, and Degradation,
contrary to the Law of this Kingdom.

That for the better advancing of his
 traiterous purpose and designe, he did a-
 buse the great power, and trust his Maje-
 stie reposed in him, and did intrude upon
 the places of divers great officers, and up-
 on the right of other his Majesties Sub-
 jects; whereby he did procure to himselfe
 the nomination of sundry persons to Ec-
 clesiasticall Dignities, Promotions, and
 Benefices, belonging to his Majestie; and
 divers of the Nobility, Clergie, and o-
 thers; and hath taken upon him the com-
 mendation of Chaplaines to the King, by
 which meanes hee hath preferred to his
 Majesties service, and to other great pro-
 motions in the Church, such as have been
 Popishly affected, or otherwise unsound,
 and corrupt both in doctrine, and man-
 ners;

He hath for the same traiterous and
 wicked intent, chosen and employed
 such

such men to bee his ovrse domesticall Chaplaines; whom he knew to be notoriously disaffected to the reformed Religion, grossly addicted to Popish superstition, and erroneous and unsound both in judgement and practise; and to them, or some of them, hath he committed the licensing of books to be printed, by which meanes divers false and superstitious Bookes have beene published, to the great scandall of Religion, and to the seducing of his Majesties Subjects.

He hath traiterously and wickedly indeavoured to reconcile the Church of England with the Church of Rome, and for the effecting thereof, hath consorted, and confederated with divers popish Priests, and Jesuites, and hath kept secret intelligence with the Pope of Rome, and by himselfe, his Agents, and Instruments, treated with such, as have from thence received Authority, and instruction, he

hath permitted, and countenanced a popish Hierarchie, or Ecclesiasticall government to be established in this Kingdome, by all which traitorous and malicious practices this Church and Kingdome hath bene exceedingly indangered, and like to fall under the Tyranny of the Roman Sea.

And whereas XI. James the firste King of Great Brittain, in his owne person and his Suffragans, Visitors, Surrogates, Chancellors, and other Officers by his command, have caused divers learned, pious, and Orthodox Ministers of Gods word to be silenced, suspended, deprived, degraded, excommunicated, and otherwise grieved, without any just and lawfull cause; and by divers other meanes hee hath hindered the preaching of Gods word; caused divers of his Majesties loyall Subjects to forsake the Kingdome; and increased and cherished ignorance; and profanation amongst the people; hath

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hee might the better facilitate the way to
the effecting of his owne wicked and
traiterous designe, of altering, and corrup-
ting the true Religion here established.

XII.

Hee hath traiterously Indeaoured to
cause division, and discord between the
Church of England, and other Reformed
Churches; and to that end hath suppress,
and abrogated the Priviledges, and Im-
munities, which have beene by his Maje-
sty, and his royall Ancestors graunted to
the Dutch, and French Churches in this
Kingdome, and diuers other waies hath
expressed his malice and chaffection to
these Churches, that so by such disunion,
the Papists might have more advantage
for the overthrow, and extirpation of
both.

XIII.

Hee hath maliciously and traiterously
plotted, and indaoured to stirre up war
and enmity betwixt his Majesties two

B. 3

King.

Kingdomes of England, and Scotland, and to that purpose hath laboured to introduce into the Kingdome of Scotland, diyers Innovations both in Religion and government, all or the most part of them tending to Popery, and Superstition, to the great grievance, and discontent of his Majesties Subjects of that Nation: And for their refusing to submit to such Innovations, he did traiterously advise his Majesty to subdue them by force of Armes, and by his owne Authority, and Power, contrary to Lawe, did procure sundry of his Majesties Subjects, and enforced the Clergie of this Kingdome to contribute towards the maintenance of that war, and when his Majesty with much wisdom and Justice had made a Pacification betwixt the two Kingdomes, the said Archbishop did presumptuously censure that pacification, as dishonorable to his Majesty, and by his counsells, and endeavors, so incensed his Majesty against his laid Subjects

jects of Scotland, that hee did thereupon (by advice of the said Archbishop) enter into an offensive warre against them, to the great hazard of his Majesties person, and his Subjects of both Kingdomes.

— OF THE REIGN OF **XIIII.**

That to preserve himself from being questioned for these, and others his traiterous courses, he laboured to subvert the rights of Parliament, and the ancient course of Parliamentary proceeding, and by false and malicious slanders to incense his Majesty against Parliament.

By which words, countells, and actions, hee hath traiterously and contrary to his Allegiance laboured to alienate the hearts of the Kings liege people from his Majesty, and to set a division betweene them, and to ruine and destroy his Majesties Kingdomes, for which they doe impeach him of high Treason, against our Sovereigne Lord the King his Crowne and dignity.

The said Commons doe further averre that the layd William Archbishop of Canterbury, during the times that the crimes aforementioned were done, and committed, hath beene a
Bishop,

Bishop, or Archbishop of this Realme of England, one of the Kings Commissioners for Ecclesiasticall matters, and one of his Majesties most honorable Privy Councell, and hath taken an Oath for his faithfull discharge of the said Office of Councellor, and hath likewise taken an oath of supremacy, and Allegiance.

And the said Commons by protestation saving to themselves the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter any other Accusation or Impeachment against the said Archbishop, and also of replying to the Answers, that the said Archbishop shall make unto the said Articles, or to any of them, and of offering further proof also of the Premises, or any of them, or of any other impeachment, or Accusation that shall be exhibited by them, as the cause shall according to the course of Parliament require; doe pray that the said Archbishop may be put to answer to all and every the Premises; and that such proceedings, examination, tryall, and Judgement may be upon every of them, had and used, as is agreeable to Law and Justice.

The

ers doe make the party who commits

*The Articles being read, bee
proceeded as followeth.*

My Lord, **HERE** is an expres-
sion in the Scripture,

which I will not pre-
sume either to under-
stand, or to interpret;
yet to a vulgar eye it
seemes to have an Af-
fect something Inta-
ble to the Person and
Cause before you: It

is a description of the
evil Spirits, wherein they are said to be
raised up in High Places. Crimes
acted by the Intellectual Faculties of the
Soule, the Will and the Understand-
ing, exercised about spirituall matters,
concerning Gods Worship, and the Sal-
vation of Man, seconded with power, au-
thority, learning, and many other advanta-

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ges, doe make the party who commits them, very futable to that description, *spirituall wickedneses in high places.*

These Crimes (my Lords) are various in their Nature, haynous in their qualitie, and universall in their Extent. If you examine them *Theologically*, as they stand in opposition to the Trueth of God, they will be found to be against the rule of Faith, against the power of godlinesse, against the meanes of Salvation.

If you examine them *Morally*, as they stand in opposition to the light of Nature, to right reason, and the principles of humane society, you will then perceive pride without any moderation; such a Pride as that is which exalts it selfe above all that is called God. Malice without any provocation; Malice against vertue, against innocency, against pietie. Injustice without any meanes of restitution; even such injustice as doeth robbe the present times of their possessions; the future, of their possibilities.

If they be examined (my Lords) by Ecclesiastical Rules in a *Civill* way, as they stand in opposition to the Publique good, and to the Lawes

Laws of the Land, He will be found to be a Traytor against his Majesties Crowne, an Incendiary against the Peace of the State; he will be found to be the highest, the boldest, the most impudent oppressour, that ever was an oppressour both of King and People.

This Charge (my Lords) is distributed and conveyed into foureteene severall Articles, as you have heard; and those Articles are onely generall: It being the intention of the House of Commons (which they have commanded me to declare) to make them more certaine and particular by preparatory Examinations to be taken with the helpe of your Lordships house, as in the Case of my Lord of Strafford.

I shall now runne through them with a light touch, onely marking in every of them some speciall points of venome, virulency, and malignity.

1 The first Article (my Lords) doth containe his endeavour to introduce into this Kingdome an Arbitrary power of Government, without any limitations or Rules

of Law. This (my Lords) is against the safety of the Kings person, the honour of his Crowne, and most destructive to his people.

Those Causes which are most perfect have not onely a power to produce effects, but to conserve and cherish them. The Seminary vertue, and the Nutritive vertue in vegetables, doe produce from the same principles. It was the defect of Justice, the restraining of oppression and violence that first brought government into the World, and set up Kings, the most excellent way of Government. And by the maintenance of Justice all kinds of government receive a sure foundation and establishment. It is this that hath in it an ability to preserve and secure the royall power of Kings, yea, to adorn and increase it.

2. In the second Article, your Lordships may observe absolute and unlimited power, defended by Preaching, by Sermons, and other discourses, printed and published upon that subject. And truly (my Lords) it seemes to be a prodigious crime, that the Truth of God, and his holy Law should be perverted to defend the lawlesse

nese of men. That the holy and sacred
function of the Ministry, which was or-
dained for instruction of mens soules in the
wayes of God, should bee so abused, that
the Ministers are become the trumpeets of
sedition, the promoters and defenders of vi-
olence and oppression.

2 In the third Article (my Lords) you
have the Judges, who under his Majesty
are the dispensers and distributors of ju-
stice, frequently corrupted by feare and
solicitation; you have the course of ju-
stice in the execution of it, shamefully ob-
structed. And if a willfull Act of injustice
in a Judge bee so high a crime in the esti-
mate of the Law, as to deserve death;
under what burthen of guilt doth this man
lye, who hath beene the cause of great num-
bers of such voluntary and willfull Acts of
unjustice.

In the fourth Article, he will bee found
in his owne Person to have sold Justice in
Causes depending before him. And by his
wicked counsell, endeavouring to make his
Majesty a Merchant of the same commodi-
ty, onely with this difference, that the King
by taking money for places of Judicature,

should sell it in gross; whereas the Arch-
bishop sold it by retail.

In the fifth Article, there appears a
power abused of making Canons; of lay-
ing obligations on the Subjects in the nature
of Lawes: and this power abused to the
making of such Canons as are in the matter
of them very pernicious, being directly con-
trary to the Prerogative of the King, and the
liberty of the People. In the manner of
pressing of them, may be found fraud and
deceit: In the conclusion, violence and
constraint. Men being forced by terrour and
threatning to subscribe to all: which power
thus wickedly gotten, they laboured to e-
stablish by perjury, injoyning such an Oath
for the maintenance of it, as can neither be
taken nor kept with a good conscience.

6. In the sixth Article, you have the King
robbed of his Supremacy: you have a Pa-
pall power exercised over his Majesties Sub-
jects in their consciences, and in their per-
sons: You have Ecclesiasticall jurisdic-
tion claimed by an Incident right, which the
Law declares to proceed from the Crowne.

And

And herein your Lordships may observe
 that those who labour in civill matters
 set up the King above the Lawes of the
 Kingdome, do yet in Ecclesiasticall mat-
 ters endeavour to set up themselves above
 the King. This was first procured by the
 Archbishop, to be extrajudicially declared
 by the Judges, and then to be published in
 a Proclamation. In doing whereof he hath
 made the Kings Throne but a footstool for
 his owne and their pride.

Yes have (my Lords) in the seventh
 Article Religion undermined and subvert-
 ed. If you have Popery cherished and
 defended, if you have this second with
 power and violence, by severall handes
 upon those which have opposed them, and
 chievious intencion, and by the subtle and
 eager prosecution of these wicked popes
 or of Ecclesiasticall Commissioners, or other
 Starre Chamber and Councell, shall be
 often made subservient to this wicked
 signe.

My Lords,

You may observe in the eighth Arti-
 cle great care taken to get into his owne
 hand

hand the power of nominating to Ecclesiastical Livings and promotions: you have as much mischief, as much wicked rare taken in the disposing of these preferments, as dishonour and corruption of Religion. And by this means (my Lords) the Kings sacred Majesty, instead of Sermons, fit for spirituall instructions, hath often had invectives against his people, encouragement to injustice, or to the overthrow of the Lawes. Such Chaplaines have beene brought into his service, as have as much as may bee laboured to corrupt his owne Household, and becom eminent examples of corruption to others; which hath so farre prevailed, as that it hath exceedingly tainted the Universities, and becom generally detest to all the chiefe Cities, the greatest Townes and Auditories of the Kingdome. The grievous effects whereof is most manifest to the Common House; there being divers hundred complaints there depending in the House against scandalous Ministers; and yet (I beleeve) the hundred part of them is not yet brought in.

19. The ninth Article sets out the like care to have Chaplaines of his owne, that
 might

might bee promoters of this wicked and
 trayterous designe: Men of corrupt judge-
 ments, of corrupt practices, extremely ad-
 dicted to superstitions: And so all such mis-
 cares hath beene committed the Licensing
 of Bookes to the Presse; by means where-
 of many have beene published that are full
 of falshood, of scandals, such as have bene
 more worthy to be burnt by the hand of the
 Hangman in Smithfield (as I think one of
 them was) then to be admitted to stand like
 the heads of the Kings people.

to In the tenth Article it will appeare
 how he having made these approches to
 Popery, comes now to close and joyn more
 neerely with it, hee confederates with
 Priests, and Jesuits; Hee by his instru-
 ments negotiates with the Pope at Rome,
 and hath correspondence with such that he
 authorized from Rome here. He hath per-
 mitted a Romane Hierarchie to be set up in
 this Kingdome. And though he hath bene
 so carefull that a poore man could not goe
 to the neighbour parish to heare a Sermon;
 when he had none at home; could not have
 a Sermon repeated, nor prayer said in his
 owne Family, but hee was a fit subject for

the High Commission-Court; yet the
 other hath bene done in all parts of the
 Realme, and no notice taken of it by any Ec-
 clestiasticall Judge or Court. *My Lords,* You may perceive Preaching suppres-
 sed in the cleven; the goodly and ortho-
 dox Ministers oppressed in their persons and
 Estates: you have the Kings Royall sub-
 jects banished out of the Kingdome; not as
Elimelech, to seek for bread in forraigne
 Countries, by reason of the great scarcity
 which was in Israel; but travelling abroad
 for the bread of life, because they could not
 have it at home, by reason of the spirituall
 Famine of Gods Word, caused by the
 and his partakers. And by this means you
 have had the trade, the Manufacture, the in-
 dustry of many thousands of his Majesties
 subjects carried out of the Land.
 It is a miserable abuse of the spirituall
 Keyes, to shut up the doores of heaven; and
 to open the gates of hell; to let in prophane-
 nesse, ignorance, superstition, and error. I
 shall need say no more. These things are evi-
 dent, and abundantly knowne to all.

12 In the twelfth Article (my Lords) you have a division endeavored betweene this and the forraigne reformed Churches. The Church of Christ is one Body, and the Members of Christ have a mutuall relation, as members of the same body. Unity with Gods true Church every where is not onely the beauty, but the strength of Religion: of which beauty and strength he hath sought to deprive this Church by his manifold attempts to breake this union. To which purpose he hath suppressed the priviledges granted to the Dutch and French Churches. Hee hath denyed them to be of the same Faith and Religion with us; and many other wayes hath he declared his malice to those Churches.

13 In the thirteenth Article, as he hath sought to make an Ecclesiasticall division, or religious difference between us and forraign Nations, so he hath sought to make a civill difference betweene us and his Majesties subjects of the Kingdome of Scotland. And this hee hath promoted by many innovations, there prest by him selfe and his owne authority, when they were incapable of such alterations.

rations. He advised his Majestie to use violence. He hath made private and publike Collections towards the maintenance of the warre; which he might justly call his own warre. And with an unparalleld boldnesse hath stretcht Tallies in the Exchequer for divers sums of money, procured by himselfe *pro defensione Regni*: when by his counsaile the King was drawne to undertake not a defensive, but an offensive warre.

14. He hath lastly thought to secure himselfe and his party, by seeking to undermine Parliaments; and thereby hath laboured to bereave this Kingdome of the Legislative power, which can onely be used in Parliaments; and that we should bee left a Kingdome without that which indeed makes and constitutes a Kingdome; and is the onely Meane to preserve and restore it from distempers and decayes. He hath hereby endeavoured to bereave us of the highest Judiciary; such a Judiciary, as is necessary and essentiall to our government. Some Cases cannot be tried in any inferiour Court; as divers Cases of Treason, and others concerning the Prerogative of the Crowne, and liberty of the People. It is the supreme
Judica-

Indicatory to which all difficult Cases resort
from other Courts. He hath sought to de-
prive the King of the Love and Councell of
his People; of that assistance which hee
might have from them; and likewise to de-
prive the People of that reliefe of grievances
which they most humbly expect from his
Majesty.

The Parliament is the Cabbinet wherein
the chiefest Jewels both of the Crowne and
Kingdome are deposited. The great Pro-
prietive of the King, and the liberty of the
People are most effectually exercised and
maintained by Parliaments. Here (my
Lord) you cannot passe by this occasion of
great thanks to God and his Majesty for
passing the Bill whereby the frequent course
of Parliaments is established; which I as-
sure my selfe, he will by experience finde to
bee a strong foundation both of his honour,
and of his Crowne.

This is all (my Lord) I have to say to
the particulars of the Charge. The Com-
mons desire your Lordships that they may
have the same way of Examination that they

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had in the Case of the Earle of *Surrey*.
That is, to examine members of all kinds of
Your Lordships House and their owne, and
others, as they shall see cause. And those Ex-
aminations to be kept secret and private, that
they may with more advantage be made use
of, when the matter comes to tryall.

They have declared that they reserve to
themselves the power of making Addition-
nall Articles; by which they intend to re-
duce his *Charge* to be more particular and
certaine, in respect of the severall times, oc-
casion, and other circumstances of the Of-
fences therein Charged. And that your
Lordships would be pleased to put this
Cause in such a quick way of proceeding,
that these great and dangerous Crimes, to-
gether with the offenders, may be brought to
a just judgement.

FINIS.
This is all that is said
the particulars of the Charge. The Com-
mons desire your Lordships that they may
have the same way of Examination that they
had